1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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311 important had less intensive cultivation than the two principal centers mentioned above.

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311 Most of the remaining crops of the Recôncavo were either minor subsistence crops of general distribution, not of themselves accounting for any strong concentration of cropland, or were major crops produced in small separated centers of intensive cultivation. The Northwestern Recôncavo corn and bean areas, the coconut plantations of the beach line, the Southwestern Recôncavo sugar cane and coffee areas, and the suburban rings of orange production were zones where the mean intensity of cropland was low or, at best, modest.

There were two zones of very low intensity of cropland which have not been discussed previously because they did not have significant concentrations of individual crops. The belt of Intermediate Hills around
[137]
[231] the Central Recôncavo sugar cane area is largely forested, the scene of very scattered cultivation, livestock enterprises, and extractive industries. This belt was used, as will be seen, to provide fuel and to maintain a livestock reserve for the adjoining sugar cane area. The forested belt between the beach line and the inland areas of sugar cane and tobacco cultivation were used primarily for extensive systems of cultivation and for the small scale production of livestock. Only around the perimeter of Salvador was this forested belt intensively used, for in this area there were orange groves, manioc gardens, and a few very small truck farms.

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178 Expansion of Cropland. There can be little question but that the Recôncavo as a whole was an area of expanding cropland in the 1940's.
[161] In no other way could the increased food necessary for the growing popu-
[434] lation be supplied, for there were not than nor are there now external sources for large quantities of staples, excepting only livestock. There

2a Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

VILA RECÔNCAVO

[The Private Plantation]

*249 829 178 *[434]

The entire harvest is done with great sacrifice, my head wearied by accounts; 6,000 tons of cane, over Cr$600.000,00--a lot of money, enough for all the expenses, and still some left over. What a mistake! The general costs, the extraordinary costs, house repairs, etc., will take it all. So we start again--new plantings, larger fields, all for more money. But we lack the courage to stop planting sugar cane and plant corn or coffee, anything else. We were born hearing of senhores de engenho, of trays and trays of silver service, of Negro slaves, of everything which has disappeared into the past. But it still burns in our blood, and deep down we want to have lands, to order and be obeyed. We like the humble and servile vassalage of the Negro, which makes us feel important, the dispensers of favors.

*249 829

I think of this as old Saturno goes along, step by step. There is Paulos Santos coming along the road, with his little burro and two baskets, going to get manioc for the ever-present farinha. "Good morning, Patron!" What affection I feel for each one of them! Pedro Manuel with so many little children; Zé Julião with his sick wife, Conceição with his air of secular servility. But affection resolves nothing! Money and action do! I could knock down those miserable hovels and make good hygienic houses.

Once home I fall into the hammock, reading Proust and forgetting everything.

The Usina: Usina São Pedro

*249 473

The Sociedad Anonima, the corporation which operates this factory, represents the new pattern in the Recôncavo. There are now nine factories functioning in the Recôncavo, for the trend has been to close the small ones which could not function economically. Five of the nine belong to one corporation, which holds extensive lands and receives the cane of many suppliers. We will describe the smallest of the four independent factories, which has a rated capacity of seventy-two thousand sacks of sugar as compared with the two hundred thousand of one of the larger mills (a sack equaling 60 kilograms). The legal capacity of the Usina São Pedro--which it has never reached--is fifty-two thousand sacks, as determined by the Institute of Sugar and Alcohol. At the present time, however,

* 249 433 [128] [656]

Bz Hutchinson E-4,6 (1950-1961) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

VILA RECÔNCAVO

[The Usina]

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221 kills the new shoots. Toward the end of summer, the pastures or garden plots which are to be made into new plantations (rêgo novo) are prepared, for such work is usually done in accordance with conditions of the land rather than only at the [433] time of planting. New plantings yield an average of thirty to forty tons per acre. Cutting, transporting, burning, and planting are done by the resident workers, while the weeding and general cultivating are carried out by the migrant laborers.

Work in the winter period can usually be handled by the resident workers alone. The planting of cane goes on throughout the year, but the most favorable time is during July and August, when the rains begin to diminish in constancy and the sun shines longer. Cane planted at this time gives the greatest yield. The seed used is the top part of the cane itself, the "eye" which appears just below the leaves. As a rule each plantation furnishes most of its own seed. That for the summer planting comes from the cane which is cut to go to the [654] factory, and that for the winter from small plantings made previously for the purpose. The state government also maintains an agricultural station in the area, from which the planters can get seed. During the winter all repairs are made on houses, fences, and equipment, and of course the necessary drainage ditches must be built or repaired and seasonal cultivation and clearing work must be done.

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435 The usineiros maintain that the agricultural operations pay more than does the factory. The factory plantations sell their cane at the same price as the private suppliers, a price fixed by the Institute of Sugar and Alcohol. This price has gradually gone up as have all the factory costs. But the ceiling price of sugar, which is Cr$166,00 a sack, has not increased. In 1951 the cost per sack of sugar at Usina São Pedro was [434] Cr$132,00. Each year the costs rise, creeping nearer and nearer to the selling price. So while the books show that each plantation is making more money for its cane, the factory's books show a slackening of profits. At the moment, most of the factories in the Recôncavo are engaged in refining their processes in order to get a higher percentage of sugar out of [433] each ton of cane. The Usina São Pedro is only able to get an average of eighty kilograms of sugar per ton of cane, while the largest factory gets one hundred kilograms per ton. The factory also loses money because it pays for the cane by the ton of dead weight, and not by the percentage of sucrose the cane contains. As a result the planters are interested in rais-

2: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1960-1981) 1967 SO11 Bahia Brasilians SO11
VILA RECÔNCAVO

tion plantation. At its highest level it is a form of unwritten social security which works well, supplementing the low wages which are paid throughout the area. Even on the factory plantations there is a mild form of paternalism, which is stronger in plantations nearer to the factory and to the home of the usineiro.

The migrant workers, however, do not fit into the pattern of paternalism, mostly because they do not seek it. Indirectly they receive its benefits, for if one of them is ill he can go to the contractor who will then go to the plantation owner or usineiro for medicine or whatever is needed. But in general the migrant laborers stay by themselves and ask little or nothing of their employers.

In addition to the protection provided by a paternalistic system, the workers have the right to at least half an acre of land on the plantation where they can plant and raise their subsistence crops. Often they also plant tobacco, both in these plots and in the small areas throughout the plantation where no sugar cane is planted, such as corners where the plow cannot penetrate. The tobacco is sold to traveling buyers who scour the area at the tobacco harvest season. The money thus gained belongs to the workers, and many of them say that cash earned in such a way provides the "extras" they like during the year, such as rum, cigarettes, a pair of earrings, or some perfume.

21 Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1987 5011 Bahia Brazilians 5011

VILA RECÔNCAVO

5. Town Life

THE OCCUPATIONS of the townspeople in Vila Recôncavo differ considerably from the pursuits of the people in the rural zone. The town residents are engaged in gaining a living from a number of small enterprises; the economy is a money economy, and not one dominated by mutual obligations and rights, as it is to a certain degree on the plantations. Vila Recôncavo is the county seat and lacks any organized commerce or industry. It can be called an administrative town, inasmuch as government employment is the life of many of the people, especially the town's upper class.

The economic occupations of the townspeople can be divided into four groups: (1) the bureaucrats and merchants; (2) the group which serves them, such as cooks and laundresses; (3) a middle group of artisans whose greatest asset, as well as liability, is their independence; (4) a small group of people who do not fit into any of the three groups above.

According to the census which was taken in June, 1950, the labor force of the town numbered 459 persons, including men and women. Of the 459, eleven listed themselves as unemployed. The remainder of the population were listed as housewives, students, small children, and old people who were retired or incapacitated. In this category, which numbers about one thousand people, there are individuals who engage in part-time work, such as carrying water or firewood or doing piecework sewing--in other words, small occupations which in their eyes are not worthy of being classed as employment.

The occupations which were listed can be broken down into the four groups mentioned above as follows:

2: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

VILA RECÔNCAVO

[Town Life]

the remainder being divided among the crew, the master and baixador receiving slightly more than the moços. Most fishermen dislike fishing with the drag net for several reasons: although the catch is usually large, it must be divided among many men; there really should be thirteen men to handle the net, which limits the amount each receives, and when only ten participate, the work is much greater for each although the increase in pay is slight; also, the operation is a rather boring process involving long waiting periods. It is becoming more and more difficult to get a crew together.

The resse, used to catch xangó, and the abaladeira, used to catch other small fish such as sardines and tainha, present a different operation. The resse is a net of close weave, 660 feet long and 12 feet wide. Like the deep net, it has wooden floats on the top and lead weights on the bottom. A small canoe (18 to 20 feet) is used, and only two men are necessary. This net can be used with either the incoming or the outgoing tide, and at any place. The fishermen have certain favorite sand and shell banks where they like to fish, east of town. They launch the net when they see the schools of small fish breaking water. The resse is a recent innovation in Vila Recôncavo, where it was first used with great secrecy to prevent knowledge of its weave from falling into the hands of too many people. But now most fishermen in this part of the Bay of All Saints are acquainted with it, and the entire county lists twenty-five resse nets.

A second innovation with this net, and one which applies also to the abaladeira, is the cooperative launching of two nets at once in order to catch more fish. Two canoes participate, each with two men and a net. An exceptional catch for a six-hour period of fishing may run as high as Cr$600,00 and usually averages between Cr$300,00 and Cr$400,00. When two canoes fish together the total catch is divided equally between the two. The resse and abaladeira fishermen estimate that they can earn an average of Cr$15,00 every day of the year. This is considered relatively good, for they do not fish constantly. After a few profitable days they are inclined to give up for a period of time, resting and enjoying themselves.

The calão is another large net requiring at least six men to manipulate it, working from the canoe and from the water as with the deep net. It is used to catch fish of all sizes except the very small xangó and shrimp. The net is 780 feet

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three are rural samples from the factory and plantation nuclei. The total sample is divided by classes as follows:

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Urban	Class	Rural
	A	2
11	B	7
41	C	54 (field workers 25; factory workers 29)
10	D	

Class C in the rural zone is divided into two groups, field workers and factory workers, to point out the slight differences between the two groups.

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TABLE 3
MONTHLY INCOME

Urban Average Monthly Income of Head of Family (Cr$)	Class		Rural Average Monthly Income of Head of Family (Cr$)
	A		15.500,00
1.822,72	B		2.040,00
805,85	C	field workers	450,44
		factory workers	847,00
483,74	D		

The economic gap between Class A of the rural area and classes B, C, and D of both the rural and urban areas is quickly apparent. In United States currency the income is roughly $750 per month for Class A, $100 per month for Class B, and only $20 per month for Class D. The figures for Class B, both urban and rural, show how closely the segments of the class correspond in income. However, urban Class C and rural Class C differ in that the urban group's cash income is higher, although it does not approach that of Class B. Although the field workers' income appears to be close to that of urban Class D, the produce from the garden plots to which all field workers are entitled is not included in this figure. Class D, whose income is the lowest, must live on its wages, since members of this class do not have garden plots.

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travagant ceremonial of the house. The fulfillment of individual obligations is very expensive, too much so for one person to pay for it himself. The ceremony given at the end of the year in 1950 cost the members of the house almost two thousand cruzeiros in foods, sacrificial animals, candles, kerosene for the lamps, clothing, and ornaments. Individual members spent as much as four hundred cruzeiros on their clothes and beads, in addition to contributing to the common fund, not to mention their labor in cooking and in washing and ironing all the costumes and clothes used during the ceremonies. Such large sums of money are hard to get, so the number of ceremonies per year is decreasing. Not only are the salaries of the people low and inflation high, but more and more things which were not formerly available in the area--such as movies, wrist watches, jewelry other than the beads and bracelets symbolic of the deities, perfume, and lipstick--lay claim on the people's attention and purses.

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Participation in the cults is generally considered to be an activity of lower-class people, and in Vila Recôncavo only such people are seen dancing and carrying out their other cult obligations. Individuals of other classes, however, do participate either indirectly or secretly. Class A displays a genuine lack of knowledge about the cult activities, in spite of being brought up within sound of the drums and within sight of the outward symbols of the African and Indian deities. These people, although they speak with disdain of cultism and of the paganism involved, have a certain respect for it and usually refrain from interfering with it in any way. They maintain a type of joking relationship in regard to it with the workers who they know participate in it, but seldom if ever attend a ceremony. Ceremonies are infrequently held on family-owned plantations when the owners are present. Most of them take place on plantations run by overseers.

Class B in the town has several members who help support the cult house and indirectly participate in its activities, especially in reference to the Mother of the Waters ritual. Since education, which implies freedom from belief in cultism, is a criterion of class position, members of Class B in public denounce cultism and those who participate in it. But many of them, coming from families which participated in it, retain some belief in the cults and fear them. They do not completely cut themselves off from cultism. They participate in it secretly, sending money to the cult leader and presents to the Moth-

2: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1981) 1987 SO11 Bahia Brasiliana SO11
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position of the sugar industry in Vila Recôncavo, is creating considerable interest on the part of the community's planters. Just as sugar cane is limited by soil and climatic conditions, so also is the cacao. There is little fear, therefore, of competition from many other areas. In addition, cacao is exportable, while the sugar of the area is for internal consumption only.

In spite of the attraction of this new crop, there are a number of problems which must be dealt with. First, the details of a change from sugar cane to cacao must be worked out, especially as regards space and financing. The planter must juggle his sugar plantings, pastures, and rotation lands so that he can slowly take out land for preparation for cacao. If he wants to finance the changeover himself, he cannot lessen his sugar production; in fact, he needs more money than before. Banks in general lend on the forthcoming crop; if the crop is reduced, so is the amount which can be borrowed. However, to overcome this, the Institute of Cacao of Bahia is preparing a financing program on a long-term basis. Sugar cane is a perennial, planted one year, bearing for the next three or four years, then ploughed under and replanted. Cacao, on the other hand, is a permanent tree crop which gives its first fruit in five years, reaches maturity in fifteen or twenty years, and then continues to produce annually for sixty to one hundred years. Thus sugar cane is financed on a one-year basis, while initial plantings of cacao must be financed on a long-term basis of ten to fifteen years. The change from a perennial crop to a permanent crop also requires a totally different mental set on the part of the planter.

Cacao is a "forest crop," which means that it requires shading. Under primitive conditions it is planted in dense tropical forest. In Vila Recôncavo, however, the former tropical forest has been entirely cleared away during the last four hundred years, since sugar cane tolerates no shade. Therefore, before the cacao can be planted, shade must be provided. This is done by planting banana trees and, at fixed intervals, single seedlings of a precocious, long-living, high-growing shade tree. To pay for the work involved it is common to plant manioc between the banana trees. The manioc is gathered the following year, and shortly thereafter the young cacao trees can be planted. The banana trees offer sufficient shade for the young plants. For a period of five or six years the planter

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242 can collect bananas, which should pay for the operating costs
while waiting for the cacao to mature.
[434] At the end of a five- or six-year period, the shade tree is usually large enough to provide sufficient shade, and the banana trees are gradually removed. At the same time the cacao begins to give its fruit, and one can then consider himself a cacauicultor.

178 Several planters in Vila Recôncavo are at the banana-manioc
245 planting stage, and have met with their first serious labor
461 problem. No one wants to work in banana and manioc fields,
464 as the work is arduous and slow. Machines are not available
[407] for the mechanical cultivation of manioc, so the work must be done by hand. The work is slowly being accomplished, but at costs which will make the manioc a considerable liability.

178 Nevertheless, in spite of these difficulties, there is con-
245 siderable interest in cacao in Vila Recôncavo, and cacao must
433 be considered as an element of change in the community which
*[247] will have far-reaching effects. The area of sugar production will be considerably reduced, requiring adjustments on the part of the factories, which represent large financial investments. Furthermore, cacao is a fairly simple product to process--its conversion into chocolate is usually done after export --and so it is quite likely that each plantation will return to the older aspect of the plantation, both growing and processing the crop, and become once again a highly self-sufficient unit.
[571] This would of course bring about a new alignment of socio-economic relations and would undoubtedly alter the community structure.

178 A third principal cause of change in Vila Recôncavo is the
315 growth of a new and potent industry within the community and
433 throughout the county. This new industry is the nascent Brazilian petroleum industry. Exploratory work was done in Vila Recôncavo in 1950 and 1951 under the guidance of the Conselho Nacional de Petroleo. Since that date a nationalised company, Petrobrás, has been formed to exploit the oil fields which lie under the topsoil of the county of Vila Recôncavo. Petrobrás has brought in several hundred oil wells and has built roads, pipelines, storage tanks, and machine shops. Just outside the limits of the community, but within the county, it has built its oil refinery and has created a small new, modern city to
[425] house the technical workers of the refinery and the field. On land expropriated from the Usina São Pedro it has also con-

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begun to live together. But it is a general policy of Petrobrás that its employees establish regularized households and register their children, as the benefits of social legislation and insurance must be paid to legal beneficiaries, such as wives and children. Because of the many recent marriages, there are no longer any houses available in Vila Recôncavo, nor in Milagres, and there has been a spurt of housebuilding.

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There have also been some shifts in emphasis in the structure of the community. While the factory nucleus is no longer the scene of social gathering for the upper class of the area, the structure of the factory-private plantation system ensures that it continues to be the economic center as long as sugar cane is being planted in the area. The system of quotas established for the private planter and the factory by the Institute of Sugar and Alcohol requires that planter and factory cooperate in supplying and receiving sugar cane. Also, the physical structure of the area, in which the factory is the center of the network of a small railroad which reaches out to each of the private properties, strengthens the impression of the factory as the center of activities.

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The possible future shift from sugar to cacao will of course diminish the importance of the sugar factory. However, in the meantime there is a new factor which will give more importance than ever to the factory: a <u>feira</u>, or market place. The county of Vila Recôncavo does not have a weekly market. For many years the county officials have wanted to establish one, not only for increased municipal income, but also to help attract more people to the area and to make life easier for the population. A market place is now under construction at the factory nucleus. When the market is completed, the factory town will become at least a weekly center of attraction for many people of the surrounding plantations.

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The development of the petroleum industry is bringing new life to the town of Vila Recôncavo, to the nearby town of Milagres, and to the new city of Conselho. Petrobrás cannot develop a nucleus on the land which belongs to the factory or to the private owners, and therefore it must concentrate any local community building efforts in the old public towns which already exist. Petrobrás, indirectly, through the county court of Vila Recôncavo, will soon contribute considerably to the county income. The same sort of compensation which was worked out in regard to the planters is now being arranged for the county, through taxes on the finished products from

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the refinery, namely gasoline, kerosene, diesel oil, bottled gas, and other petroleum derivatives. As a result of the increased income, the county government will be able to build up the county seat considerably. A hospital is already being built, as well as a new dock for the boat which comes from the city.

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In Milagres, located in the neighboring county, there is already a considerable movement for breaking away from the parent county and becoming a separate municipio, a common pattern in Brazil for districts which reach a certain population and degree of economic activity. Thus there are two possibilities for urban growth in the area and for the formation of urban centers which will attract the large rural population.

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The town of Vila Recôncavo is close to realizing other possibilities. The construction of a road from the town to Centro has already begun, filling a long-felt need. Its completion will make it possible for cars, buses, and trucks to come from Feira, on the edge of the sertão, to Centro, down through Vila Recôncavo to Milagres, and on into the city, shortening the long trip by the existing road which follows the edges of the Recôncavo. Such traffic would "put Vila Recôncavo on the map," and would greatly increase its contacts with the outside world. In addition, the possibilities of the introduction of a new crop to the community will bring increased commercial activity and a much greater tax income, enabling the county to build its own roads and bridges and to make other improvements for the development of the area.

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Thus the community structure of Vila Recôncavo, which five years ago was in the process of crystallizing around the factory town, is now ripe for further change. The factory town continues for the present to be the major center, but the old county seat has all the possibilities of a rebirth of its former importance. In fact, because of the petroleum industry and the forthcoming changeover from sugar cane to cacao, the factory town is threatened as a community center, the position which it has only recently been consolidating.

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Finally, one of the most important changes in Vila Recôncavo in these five years is a change in attitude on the part of the people. Vila Recôncavo was always known as a conservative community, maintaining its old traditions and ways, rejecting innovations. However, there is now an air of expectancy and a search for new ways and new things. Dissatisfaction with the sugar industry, combined with the appearance

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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No effective opposition appears to an individual with *um pouco da raça* ("a little color"), provided he also possesses the requisite characteristics of upper-class standing.

As we have indicated, marriages between individuals of different colors, like marriages between individuals from the same race, ordinarily take place within class lines. Thus, of twenty-four marriages at Bahia in which one partner was a *branco* or a *branca* and the other a *preto* or *preta*, all the individuals, with the possible exception of one couple, were from the same class. When such marriages occur outside class lines—that is, between individuals from different occupational or income levels—the economic and social advantage, as might be anticipated, will ordinarily be in favor of the white.[*] A *preto*, speaking of the marriage of a certain white woman on the Ilha de Mare to a black, explained, "She got more out of it than he did ['foi mais para ela']. He had money and she didn't."

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Of 72 cases of intermarriage upon which it was possible to secure accurate and relatively complete information, 61, or 85 per cent, were contracted by individuals from the same occupational level. Of the 11 remaining cases in which people married across class lines, in 8, or 73 per cent, the social and economic advantages accrued to the white partner. In the remaining 3 cases, in which white individuals married a spouse from a lower occupational level, the whites were all women, a circumstance probably to be expected, given a social order wherein women are ordinarily at a disadvantage socially and at the same time under pressure to avoid spinsterhood.

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Of 35 cases on which reliable information regarding financial condition was available, only 8 were from the same eco-

[*] To some extent this is also true of intermarriage *within* the same class.

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOll Bahia Brazilians SOll

nomic level. Of the 27 others, in 21, or 80 per cent, of the cases the financial condition of the white was less favorable than that of the colored partner. Of the 6 other cases, in which monetary advantage was in favor of the darker individual, 3 of the whites involved were males, and 3 were females.

One of the males had married the daughter of a respected and widely revered mixed-blood educator, an "authority" on Portuguese grammar, with whom many Bahians of the upper classes had studied and into whose family, by reason of the father's prestige, anyone in Bahia would deem it an honor to be accepted. Moreover, the difference in economic level between the two families was slight. A second had married a "beautiful *morena*" whose physical charm, it is said, readily compensated for the difference in economic status.

In 19 cases of intermarriage on which information was obtained from a town in the interior (Itaquara), 15 were from the same occupational level. In the 4 cases in which one spouse came from a lower social stratum than the other, the social advantage was in each case in favor of the white. Thirteen of the 19 couples came from the same economic level.

One may say that the frequency of intermarriage at Bahia varies inversely with class level. In other words, intermarriage takes place readily in the lower circles, occasionally among whites who are climbing in the class scale, and rarely with whites in the upper class.[*]

When intermarriages involving upper-class individuals do occur, however, "society" does not completely close its doors

[*] This generalization does not hold for *brancas da Bahia*, or those mixed-bloods who have passed over into the white category.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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servant, sailor, farmer, and shoe-shiner. Of the 30 females, 23 were classified as students, 2 as teachers, 2 as housewives, and 1 each as street peddler, domestic servant, and government clerk.

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Inferences based upon this occupational distribution, together with certain other indices (such as tax returns, automobile ownership, the purchase of different-priced seats at cinemas and sport events), indicate that blacks and the darker mixed-bloods ordinarily occupy the lower economic levels, the medium and light mulattoes the middle position, and the whites (including the *brancos da Bahia*) the upper stratum.

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A Bahian official engaged in income-tax collections knew of no rich blacks in the city,[4] but he did know of several well-to-do mixed-bloods, among whom were a few dark mulattoes. Most incomes in the upper brackets, however, are those of whites.

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Of 116 cars being driven along the central thoroughfare, the Rua Chile, during a popular festival, in 90, or 77.6 per cent of the total, only whites were riding; in 26, or 22.4 per cent, mixed-bloods were among the occupants;[5] while no cars were occupied by blacks. However, on a similar occasion, of 50 cars noted, 2 were occupied exclusively by blacks.

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At a cinema performance, of 63 persons occupying *poltronas* at 2$200 a seat, 73 per cent were whites, 20.6 per cent

[4] Although at Ilhéos in the rich cocoa area south of Bahia a few blacks and dark mulattoes are quite well to do. For a sketch of life in this region see Jorge Amado, *Cacau* (Rio, 1933).

[5] The 6 cars in which only mulattoes were riding constituted 5.2 per cent of the total (only 1 car was occupied by dark mulattoes); the 19 cars in which both whites and mulattoes were riding constituted 16.3 per cent of the total (3 cars were occupied principally by *brancos da Bahia*, 16 by whites, with only one or two light mulattoes in each case); 1 car (0.9 per cent of the total) contained one black and five dark mulattoes.